

The Linkages Between Migration, Labour, Gender and Trafficking Among Women Migrant Workers

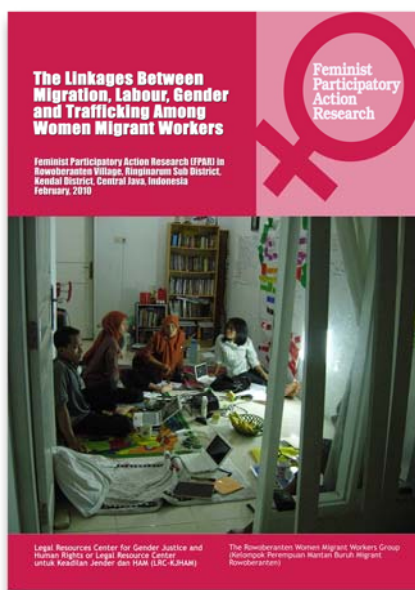
Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) in Rowoberanten Village, Ringinarum Sub District, Kendal District, Central Java, Indonesia
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Feminist
Participatory
Action
Research



Legal Resources Center for Gender Justice and Human Rights or Legal Resource Center untuk Keadilan Jender dan HAM (LRC-KJHAM)

The Rowoberanten Women Migrant Workers Group (Kelompok Perempuan Mantan Buruh Migrant Rowoberanten)



Women know their lives best! They know their strengths. They know what they want changed. In Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR), women research the issues that affect their own lives in order to bring about needed change. As a community, they analyse their stories and talk about what actions they will take and what needs to be changed. As opposed to traditional research, women are active participants in the research process; they are not ‘researched on’.

FPAR requires a certain attitude - one that believes women can steer change; one that embraces and values the complexity of women’s lived experiences; and one that highlights the strength and resourcefulness of women in the face of disempowering and discriminatory circumstances.

This FPAR initiative follows an FPAR process facilitated by the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW) in 1999 and 2000 which worked with several groups to explore what trafficking was and how it manifests in women’s lives. Ten years on, GAATW and like-minded anti-trafficking advocates have come to the FPAR process again, this time looking at how trafficking is connected to broader parts of women’s lives - to their experiences of gender, migration and their work.

GAATW conducted a methodology learning workshop with NGOs and Self-Organised Groups (or groups led by members of the target group themselves) in the Americas, Africa, Europe and Asia in 2009. Researchers went back to their communities, or to the communities they work with, and acted as catalysts for the FPAR process. Research groups included: the **Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya (FIDA-Kenya)**; **Legal Resources Center - Untul Keadilan Jender Dan Hak Asasi Manusia (LRC-KJHAM)** in Indonesia; **Asosiasi Tenaga Kerja Indonesia-Jakarta** or the **Association of Indonesian Migrant Workers (ATKI-Jakarta)**; **Self-Empowerment Program for Migrant Women (SEPOM)** in Thailand; **RESPECT Netherlands** together with **TRUSTED Migrants** and the **Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers** in the Netherlands; **Researchers Noushin K and Fereshteh** in Canada; **Akina Dada wa Africa (AkiDWA)** in Ireland, **La Strada Moldova**; **Movimiento De Mujeres Unidas (Modemu)** in the Dominican Republic; **Sociedade De Defesa Dos Direitos Sexuais Na Amazônia (Sodireitos)** in Brazil; and **Centro de Apoyo Aquelarre (CEAPA)** in the Dominican Republic.

At the end of this FPAR process one Self-Organised Group said: ‘This is a feminist process’. The anti-trafficking sector has often been accused of determining what’s best for women ‘for their own good’. This initiative seeks to counteract that idea by documenting how women are steering change in their communities. We are proud to share their knowledge and their stories of resilience, hope and strength.

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ACRONYM GLOSSARY

ATKI	Association of Indonesian Migrant Workers or Asosiasi Tenaga Kerja Indonesia
BNI	Bank Negara Indonesia
BNP2TKI	<i>Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia di Luar Negeri</i> or the Indonesian Labor Placement and Protection Agency
BRI	Bank Rakyat Indonesia
FPAR	feminist participatory action research
GAATW	Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women
HK\$	Hong Kong dollars
IDR	Indonesian rupiahs
LRC-KJHAM	LEGAL RESOURCES CENTER or UNTUK Keadilan Jender dan Hak Asasi Manusia (LRC-KJHAM)
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
PJTKI	<i>Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia</i> - labour recruitment agency or Indonesian migrant workers supplier agency
PKK	Family welfare movement or women's groups for family welfare education
PPTKILN	<i>Perlindungan dan Penempatan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia di Luar Negeri</i> or Protection and Placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers
TdH	Terre des Hommes

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The problems of migrant workers are not caused by one factor alone but are the result of the intersections between gender, migration, labour, and trafficking issues. The characteristics of labour migration and trafficking of Indonesians are not only connected to economic issues but are influenced by gender issues, labour regulation, and the treatment of migrants in destination countries.

The purpose of this feminist participatory action research was to explore the linkages between gender, migration, labour, and human trafficking as experienced by prospective, current and former women migrant workers in Rowoberanten Village, a village in the Kendal district, Central Java province, Indonesia. The Central Java province is the third largest sending source of migrant workers in Indonesia. According to data from the Central Java Office of Manpower and Transmigration (*Dinas Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi Jawa Tengah*), Kendal is the largest sending district of migrant workers in Central Java.

The FPAR objectives were: (1) to document women's experiences in their places of origin, during migration, and as migrant workers abroad; (2) to analyse women's experiences with and awareness of feminist and human rights perspectives; (3) to analyse the linkages between gender, migration, labour, and human trafficking as experienced within Rowoberanten Village; and (4) to strengthen women's voices through FPAR conducted by LRC-KJHAM. FPAR methods used in Rowoberanten Village included a comprehensive community consultation process, researchers' integration into the village, focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, and storytelling.

In addition to the research team, the FPAR participants were 12 women with experience as migrant workers and one woman who wanted to become a migrant worker. Five migrant workers were interviewed while four other migrant workers departed Indonesia for work abroad during the course of FPAR, and two women refused to be interviewed. The FPAR research team are: Irene Koernia Arifajar (LRC-KJHAM staff), Dian and Afidah (LRC-KJHAM staff), and Nurlayli (migrant worker). During the FPAR process, the team was also in regular communication with Dewi Nova from the GAATW International Secretariat.

The agrarian sector and migrant domestic work are two important livelihood strategies for villagers in Rowoberanten. Women migrant workers' contributions to the village's development is very significant. Women in Rowoberanten typically migrated abroad to work as domestic workers because they wanted a better life and future for their family. The economic contributions of women migrant workers helped to fund infrastructure development in the village, such as the building of roads and utilities.

Ideas of family and duty are strongly tied to social ideas about labour migration. Within the village, social ideas of migration have evolved. The first women who migrated abroad for work in the 1990s were stigmatised when they returned to the village. Now, individuals who migrate for work enjoy a higher status when they return to the village.

The violations of women migrant workers' rights during the labour migration process are heavily systemised. In order to access work opportunities abroad, women are required by law to pay high fees for the services of expensive brokers and agencies. While waiting for a work placement, prospective workers are required to reside in a temporary shelter (workers are forbidden to leave) where women have experienced inadequate sanitation and food, isolation and harassment. In destination countries, workers experienced salary deductions (by agencies), non/under-payment, very long working hours and heavy

workloads, passports held by employers, physical and psychological violence and abuse, violations of their religious rights (forbidden to pray, forced to eat pork) and social isolation (e.g. forbidden to communicate with others). On their return, workers are required to use Terminal 4 at Indonesia's international airport where they are subject to excessive charges by security and airport officials and transportation services.

Women migrant workers were also at risk of being trafficked. One migrant worker was trafficked when she was promised high-paid work as a traditional dancer in Japan but was forced to work long hours cleaning and entertaining customers in a Japanese café.

The significant economic contributions of women migrant workers to their family's financial security and to local and national economies are still not fully acknowledged in government policies. Governments still do not provide adequate protection for women migrant workers (despite migrant workers' remittances being the 2nd largest source of state revenue). At the village and family level, women continue to experience a double burden: Despite women taking on breadwinner roles as migrant workers, they were still responsible for domestic duties in their family and in the village.

Based on the systemic nature of violations against migrant workers' rights, it's not surprisingly that FPAR participants were more concerned about systemic justice than personal justice. Women migrant workers agreed to continue the FPAR work that had been started. After six months, the newly formed *Rowoberanten Women Migrant Workers Group (Kelompok Perempuan Mantan Buruh Migrant Rowoberanten)* successfully developed a five-point action plan and three recommendations for government.

The action plan is to:

1. To continue to learn together through ongoing FPAR on the theme of migrant workers' health. During the FPAR data gathering phase, it was found that many problems related to migrant workers' health - during migration, before departure, and upon return and reintegration in the village.
2. To establish a women's organisation for migrant workers (with a minimum of 20 women migrant workers) through social activities and asking other women migrant workers to join.
3. To establish a credit union for women.
4. To provide input to official at the village, sub-district, and district levels by participating in Development Plan Meetings (*Musyawah Rencana Pembangunan/Musrenbang*).
5. To build solidarity and share experiences among women migrant workers. One of migrant worker members, Mrs. Salimah, will act as a migrant information centre.

The group's recommendations for the government are as follows:

1. The district and provincial government should develop regulations that protect women migrant workers to supplement existing regulations on the placement of migrant workers.
2. The government should sanction Indonesian migrant workers supplier agencies (*Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia/PJTKI*) that violate current regulations.
3. The government should increase and implement access to women empowerment programs at the village level for rural women.
4. The government should involve women in decision-making processes, such as through Development Plan Meetings (*Musyawah Rencana Pembangunan /Musrenbang*).

workers' group in Rowoberanten Village, Ringinarum Sub District, Kendal District, Central Java to explore the links between gender, migration, labour, and human trafficking.

Rowoberanten Village was chosen as the location for FPAR activities as women, particularly women migrant workers from Kendal District, reported discrimination and other problems. Based on assistance and case reports, Kendal District was reported as: (1) the area with the largest number of women migrant workers after Cilacap District (in 2006, the Kendal District Office of Manpower and Transmigration or *Dinas Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi Kabupaten Kendal* reported 2,801 migrant workers, 2,759 of which were women migrant workers); (2) the area with the highest number of human trafficking cases in Central Java or 25 cases out of 115 human trafficking cases from 2005-2007; (3) the area with the highest number of recruitment agencies (or *Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia/PJTKI*) in Central Java (75 agencies listed at the Office of Manpower and Transmigration or *Dinas Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi*, 2008); (4) an area with deep poverty for women in the dry planting sector and women living on the coast; and (v) no responsive regulations adequately protecting women migrant workers' rights in the area.

FPAR Objectives

FPAR objectives were developed and planned together between LRC-KJHAM and groups of women migrant workers in Rowoberanten Village. The FPAR objectives were formulated and agreed upon at the first meeting with women migrant workers' groups in Rowoberanten Village.

The four FPAR objectives proposed by the groups of women are:

1. To document women's experiences in voluntary migration (domestic and international) and their working experiences as well;
2. To analyse women's experiences from a feminist and human rights perspective;
3. To analyse the links between gender, migration, labour, and human trafficking; and
4. To strengthen women's voices through FPAR methodology facilitated by LCR-KJHAM.

Our FPAR Strategy

The research team's strategy for FPAR within Rowoberanten was based on:

1. Building good relationships with community and family, society, and local officials;
2. Identifying and promoting local values that support the dreams of women and identifying and strengthening the power and self-esteem of women in the community;
3. Strengthening reflection by the FPAR team;
4. Building community solidarity through focus groups and recreation such as trips to the beach;
5. Giving referrals and information such as international human rights instruments (e.g. Convention), comics on the dreams of migrant workers, and comics on handling cases.

FPAR Team: Researchers, Facilitators and Women Migrant Workers

The core FPAR team comprised one LRC-KJHAM staff (Irene Koernia Arifajar), two LRC-KJHAM volunteers (Afidah and Dian Puspitasari), and one woman migrant worker (Septiana Nurlayli). Initially, Irene was the main LRC-KJHAM researcher. After the birth of her child, an LRC-KJHAM volunteer, Afidah, was taken on as an LRC-KJHAM researcher. The FPAR team worked together with 12 women who have worked as migrant workers, village officials, and the Rowoberanten community. The FPAR process was also assisted by the ATKI Research Team and Dewi Nova Wahyuni, Asia Regional Officer at the GAATW International Secretariat.

FPAR Development Process

The first phase involved discussing and mapping data with staff from organisations familiar with the condition of migrant workers in Kendal District (Mr. Ahmad Misrin). LRC-KJHAM's researcher, Irene Kurnia Arifajar, and Ahmad Misrin analysed the areas of Kendal District where FPAR would be most relevant. In this assessment, they considered the high rate of women migrant workers, the marginalised social and economic conditions of the village and potential contacts. Based on these considerations, Rowoberanten Village was agreed upon as the FPAR location.

Initial communication with women migrant workers in the village occurred through Mbak Nur Layli. Nur Layli was a woman migrant worker who had worked in Brunei Darussalam and Taiwan. She is from Rowoberanten Village and was living in Rowoberanten Village during the FPAR. Through Nur Layli, LRC-KJHAM researchers were introduced to other women migrant workers such as Bu Salimah and Mbak Fitri. LRC-KJHAM researchers were also introduced to local government officials, such as the Head of Rowoberanten Village, Mr. Mustaqim. Introductions to women migrant workers were made through home visits, gatherings and discussions.

From these initial discussions, the FPAR team and women migrant workers planned a schedule for FPAR activities. A description of the FPAR process follows.

Diagnosis and Initial Mapping by Researchers and Research Participants

On June 15, 2009, initial diagnosis was conducted together with groups of women with experience as migrant workers. There was Laily (36). The group provided and gathered information on (1) the number and composition of community members in Rowoberanten Village; (2) the area where the community lives; (3) occupations in the community; (4) social and economic stratifications within the community; (4) the history of the village and society; (5) mapping conflict and economic, social and political resources; and (6) data on women migrant workers in Rowoberanten.

Village Observation

Observation was done on June 22, 2009 by walking around the village and informally chatting with residents and with Mbak Laely. FPAR team members also visited the head of village and were introduced to two women with experience as women migrant workers - Ibu Salimah (45) and Mbak Fitri (40). Through observation and information discussion, team members gained information on: (1) women with experience as migrant workers who could be invited to participate; (2) farming cycles in the village; (3) the daily activities of women in the village; (4) social and economic conditions of the village; and (5) key persons in the community to drive the movement.

Developing FPAR Plans

After village observations on June 22, 2009, the FPAR team held a meeting to discuss: (1) recommendations from the GAATW FPAR Learning Workshop; (2) identification of potential FPAR team members; (3) developing the FPAR team within the community; (4) setting FPAR meeting schedules and activity plans; and (5) community expectations for FPAR.

Meeting participants agreed that Mbak Laely (36) would participate as a member of the FPAR team together with women migrant workers' groups in Rowoberanten. After the meeting, the FPAR team visited the head of the village, Mr. Muataqim, and informed him of the FPAR village plans. The head of the village asked that the FPAR be delayed until after the presidential election on July 8, 2009 instead of the planned start date on July 1.

Community Consultation About FPAR Plans

Two meetings were held Bu Salimah's (45) house. On June 24, 2009, 8 persons met to discuss community expectations about FPAR and to share the FPAR team's recommendations, objectives, and FPAR principles and values. The village head requested that plans begin after the 2009 presidential elections, but the community still wanted to hold the first meetings before the election. The second meeting was held July 1, 2009 in Mbak Laely's (36) house, with ten people from the community. This meeting continue the discussions from the first meeting as well plans for FPAR methods and activities.

FPAR Implementation

FPAR methods included researcher's integration into village life, focus groups, individual interviews, storytelling, diaries, documenting the research process, and developing recommendations and a plan for future action.

Researcher's Integration Into the Village

The LRC-KJHAM researcher moved into the village for FPAR. During this time, the researcher facilitated storytelling activities, individual interviews, focus groups and village mapping activities. The researcher also engaged in daily community activities, such as cooking, farming, washing, shopping at the traditional market, walking around the village, and "*njagong*"/"*jagongan*" (sitting together, chatting on any topic).

The researcher lived in various households within the community. First, researchers lived in Mbak Laily's (36) house, then in Mbak Budi's (42) house, followed by Mbak Atni's (52) house. During FPAR, the live-in was done 14 times in various households. Researchers lived most of the time in Mbak Bud's (42) house because (1) Mbak Bud's house was usually used by women for "*njagong*" (sitting together, chatting on any topic), including women with experience as migrant workers; (2) Mbak Bud was very active in inviting other women with experience as migrant workers to participate in focus group discussions; and (3) Mbak Bud was the first woman who offered her house to the FPAR researchers.

By living in various community households, researchers became very close to the community, including local officials. The researcher also gained a lot of first-hand information on women's lives, ideologies and the local values that shaped gender issues within the village.

Focus Group Discussions

Thirteen focus groups were held between July 2009-January 2010. Focus groups discussed the FPAR themes on the linkages between gender, migration, labour, and human trafficking and (1) FPAR objectives, themes, schedule, and principles; (2) village mapping of natural resources, human resources, economy, social structures and infrastructure; (3) realities of women in the village and their migration; (4) women's rights; and (5) government policies, both local and national.

Focus groups were adjusted to local agendas and the village calendar which included religious celebrations, ritual events and religious traditions, the tobacco harvest time; and tobacco planting time. For example, focus groups were not held from August-October 2009 due to the tobacco harvest, Ramadan (fasting month), and Idul Fitri. During the tobacco harvest, men and women went to work on the farm from 5am until 10am. Afterwards, they still worked in the house, by doing "*krowei*" (arranging and tightening the tobacco leaves) so the tobacco could be kept until the afternoon. At night, men did "*ngrajang*" (cutting the leaves of the tobacco) while women did "*nganjang*" (arranging the cut of tobacco leaves in the drying area). This activity was usually done until midnight.

Below are brief descriptions of the focus groups held with women migrant workers' groups in Rowoberanten Village.

Focus group 1, June 24, 2009, in Bu Salimah (45)'s house. The agenda included the finalisation of the focus group schedule and sharing about "Women of My Village", including migration. There were eight participants with experience as migrant workers: Mbak Atni (52), Mbak Bud (42), Bu Wati (52), Mbak Ngatini (40), Mbak Supiyah (31), Mbak Laily (36), Bu Salimah (45), Mbak Fitri (38), and Surati (60).

Focus group 2, July 1, 2009 in Mbak Laely (36)'s house. There were 10 participants from the community. The agenda was to continue the first meeting as well as discuss women's migration experiences and FPAR methods, plans and activities. The participants were Mbak Atni (52), Mbak Bud (42), Bu Wati (52), Mbak Ngatini (40), Mbak Supiyah (31), Mbak Laily (36), Bu Salimah (45), Lutfi (19), Mbak Sri (31), and Mbak Fitri (38).

Focus group 3, July 16, 2009, in Mbak Bud's (36) house. The discussion included (1) how FPAR principles could be realised in the community, particularly on building solidarity in the community; (2) knowledge on women that needed to be strengthened; and (3) the division of roles in using FPAR tools/methods. There were four participants: Mbak Laely (36), Mbak Bud (42), Bu Salimah (45), and Mbak Lis (25).

Focus group 4, July 17, 2009 in the village meeting building. The agenda focused on human trafficking, especially of women and children. There were 10 participants: Mbak Atni (52), Mbak Bud (42), Bu Wati (52), Mbak Ngatini (40), Mbak Supiyah (31), Mbak Laily (36), Bu Salimah (45), Lutfi (19), Mbak Lilis (25), and Nenglis (40). Mbak Laely acted as facilitator.

Focus group 5, July 24, 2009, in Bu Salimah's (45) house. The agenda focused on sharing the case handling and referral system, coordination, and networking. There were 10 participants: Mbak Atni (52), Mbak Bud (42), Bu Wati (52), Mbak Ngatini (40), Mbak Supiyah (31), Mbak Laily (36), Bu Salimah (45), Lutfi (19), Mbak Sri (31), and Nenglis (40). Mbak Fitri (40) did not participate because she was giving birth. Mbak Laely acted as facilitator.

Focus group 6, August 15, 2009, in Mbak Sri's (31) house. The topic was women's rights. There were 11 participants: Mbak Atni (52), Mbak Bud (42), Bu Wati (52), Mbak Ngatini (40), Mbak Supiyah (31), Mbak Laily (36), Bu Salimah (45), Lutfi (19), Mbak Sri (31), Nenglis (40), and Mbak Tari (25).

Focus group 7, November 6, 2009, in Mbak Fitri's (38) house. Topics included data clarification on women's migration realities. Focus groups and individual interviews were recommended to discuss these topics. There were 12 participants: Mbak Atni (52), Mbak Bud (42), Bu Saroh (48), Bu Wati (52), Mbak Supiyah (31), Mbak Laily (36), Bu Salimah (45), Lutfi (19), Mbak Sri (31), Nenglis (40), Mbak Tari (25), and Mbak Fitri (38).

Focus group 8, November 7, 2009, in Mbak Lis's (25) house. The agenda was on village mapping, specifically the village's natural resources, human resources, economic resources, social resources, and infrastructure. There were 8 participants: Mbak Bud (42), Mbak Lis (25), Bu Wati (52), Mbak Supiyah (31), Mbak Laily (36), Bu Salimah (45), Mbak Sri (31), and Mbak Fitri (38).

Focus group 9, November 16, 2009, in Mbak Tari's (25) house. Topics were building together, hopes and expectations around the follow-up from the FPAR and starting to discuss the action plans of the community. There were 8 participants: Mbak Tari (25), Bu Wati (52), Mbak Atni (52), Mbak Supiyah (31), Mbak Laily (36), Bu Salimah (45), Mbak Sri (31), and Mbak Fitri (38).

Focus group 10, December 3, 2009, in Bu Wati's (52) house. The agenda focused on clarification and interaction with policy at the *Central Java provincial level* regarding the issues of women migrant workers. There were 11 participants: Mbak Atni (52), Mbak Bud (42), Bu Saroh (48), Bu Wati (52), Mbak Supiyah (31), Mbak Laily (36), Bu Salimah (45), Lutfi (19), Mbak Sri (31), Mbak Tari (25), and Mbak Fitri (38).

Focus group 11, December 17, 2009, in Bu Saroh's (48) house. The agenda focused on clarification and interaction with policy at the *national level* regarding the issues of women migrant workers. There were 9 participants: Mbak Atni (52), Mbak Bud (42), Bu Saroh (48), Bu Wati (52), Mbak Laily (36), Bu Salimah (45), Mbak Sri (31), Mbak Tari (25) and Mbak Fitri (38). One member of the community was leaving again for Singapore and was still in the migrant workers' shelter in Semarang City.

Focus group 12, December 23, 2009, in Nenglis's (40) house. The group analysed the results from FPAR with the social tree analysis method. Seven participants were involved: Mbak Bud (42), Bu Saroh (48), Bu Wati (52), Mbak Laily (36), Bu Salimah (45), Mbak Sri (31), and Mbak Tari (25).

Focus group 13, February 2, 2010, in Mbak Bud's (42) house. Discussion focused on the meaning of justice according to women with experience as migrant workers. There were 6 participants: Mbak Budi, Bu Wati, Mbak Sri, Bu Saroh, Bu Salimah, and Mbak Tari.

Focus group 14, in Bu Salimah's house. Participants formulated recommendations and developed an action plan. Participants were Bu Salimah, Bu Wati, Mbak Budi, Mbak Lely, Mbak Tari, and Mbak Sri. Not many community members were able to participate in this discussion because they had to work during the onion planting season. However, women met informally several times in Bu Salimah's house to discuss the action plan and recommendations for the Kendal District government. The goal was to use the FPAR findings to give input and recommendations to the Kendal District government for a policy protecting migrant workers.

Challenges during focus groups

There were some participants who did not give much comment during the focus groups. This may have been because many of the participants had to bring their sons and daughters and some had to breastfeed during some of the focus groups. There were also some participants who dominated discussions. Finally, there was agreement amongst all participants to respect each other when someone is speaking. They also agreed to speak one at a time so that they can properly express their opinion. Asking specific participants for their opinions also motivated them to share more, especially for some participants who had difficulty sharing their thoughts or who were ashamed to share their experiences. At the end, when they were asked, they answered questions with enthusiasm.

In-depth Individual Interviews

Five members of the community were willing to be interviewed: Sri, Salimah, Budi, Tari, and Atni. Semi-structured interviews comprised a list of simple key questions. In-depth interviews were conducted with the consent of the community.

From the in-depth individual interviews, the FPAR team gathered data about women's profiles, migration realities and women's thoughts about the law. There weren't enough answers or information from the community during the first interview. The interviews had to be done several times, especially to get women's opinions and interactions with the law. There were four women who thought that the law are rules to decide and punish whoever does wrong. And there were six other women who answered that law is a package

of rules to solve the conflict of the people. In LRC-KJHAM's opinion, the interviews produced general answers which needed to be further explored in the context of women's situation and their experience with the law. For example, the linkages between gender and migration such as immigration regulations, women's rights in the migration process.

Challenges during individual interviews

It was a challenge to create very simple, easy, and understandable questions. Most of answers from the community were similar. Some interviewees provided more detail, like the interviews provided by Mbak Sri and Mbak Tari. This may have been because their interviews were held at a more convenient time, such as when their kids were sleeping.

Mapping the Village with the Community

The objective of mapping the village was to find out about the conditions of the village, particularly about the availability and access to public services for the local society. These included the school, traditional market, community health centre (*Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat*), integrated services centre for babies (*Pos Pelayanan Terpadu/Posyandu*), and others. The village mapping was conducted by Ibu Supiyah and Afidah from the FPAR research team and was based on recommendations raised at the 4th focus group.

The FPAR team asked participants to make a map of their journey and their home. The objective of this exercise was to increase participants' understanding of the labour migration processes they had already experienced and the problems that they faced in the migration process. The map of their journey was made by filling in the matrix together with community members after the focus groups.

Matrices were also filled in together with community members to get a better idea of the roles and activities of women and men in the domestic and public spheres (please see *Women's Position in Rowoberanten Village*, page 15).

Storytelling

Storytelling was used in Rowoberanten Village to get deeper stories and information about women's experiences during migration, while working in the destination country and upon her return to the village. The storytelling was conducted when participants were gathered in a relaxed situation and when the community volunteered to tell their stories. Storytelling also strengthened the trust and relations between FPAR researchers and the community. Afidah, one of the LRC-KJHAM researchers, wrote about her experiences with the storytelling activities she facilitated:

"I feel great the first time I met women of Rowoberanten Village who had worked as migrant workers, they were very friendly and cheerful. Their cheer in welcoming our visit made me passionate, and their enthusiasm in sharing their experience in the initial meeting made me feel trusted and felt wrong at the same time. Because all this time, I saw the decision to be a migrant worker as the choice of people who did not want to see any opportunity domestically, and I started to think that becoming a migrant worker is the right of women."

Data Analysis

The FPAR team analysed the findings using gender analysis, pentagon analysis, policy analysis and tree analysis. The development of an analysis framework was done by the FPAR team with assistance from GAATW. LRC-KJHAM colleagues also participated in the analysis process, by gathering policy information needed for analysis at the Kendal District, Central Java Province, national and regional levels. A draft analytical framework was brought to the village to be clarified and confirmed during the 12th focus group.

Writing the Report

The FPAR report was developed by the FPAR research team with involvement from the women migrant workers' group. The women migrant workers' group was particularly involved in finalising the report and clarifying all of the data included in the draft. LRC-KJHAM also held a workshop within the organisation to finalise the report.

Reflection

Reflection was done during every phase of FPAR, through diary-writing and ongoing discussions within the FPAR research team.

CHAPTER II: FINDINGS

Village Context

Geography's Impact on Livelihoods, Education and Health

Kendal is the 2nd largest sending district for migrant workers in the Central Java Province, after Cilacap District. Rowoberanten Village is one of the villages in Kendal District, Ringinarum Sub District. Rowoberanten Village is 101, 30 hectares and divided into two small Villages, there is Rowoaking Village and Rowoberanten Village, with 580 families.

From the data, it was clear that the society depends on the agrarian sector. Members of the community work as migrant workers and peasants. The system of farming in Rowoberanten Village is based on the rain because the irrigation system only works during the rainy season. There are three planting times a year. From April to July, people harvest tobacco. From December to March is the time for rice. July to December is the time for corn and crops such as beans. There is only one duck farm, which is owned by Mr. Manker and Mrs. Keri. There is one home-based snack business selling fried "intip" ("intip" is a snack made with rice) which is owned by the head of village.

Many villagers only studied until primary school and did not graduate. The village has one kindergarten and one "one-roof" primary school (*SD Negeri 1 Atap*). Children who want to continue their studies at senior high school have to travel to the sub-district, about 3 km away, by walking or riding a motorcycle. There is one *TPQ*, a mosque, and eight *mushola* (small mosques). The numbers of religious praying structures indicates the strong religious culture in Rowoberanten Village. Dian, a member of the research team offers her first impression during her first visit to Rowoberanten Village:

"The first time I came to the village, I admired the strong religious life that still guides Rowoberanten Village. In the afternoon, children went to the TPQ themselves. After they finished Maghrib Adhan (the Islamic call to prayer, usually around 6pm), they went to the nearest mushola to do their praying and sometimes they came to the praying activity outside Rowoberanten Village. It was really amazing compared with the life of people in the city right now."

There is no traditional market in Rowoberanten Village. People from the village have to walk to the sub-district which is 1km by motorcycle or bicycle if they wanted to reach the traditional market. The road conditions are not too good; people have to be very careful while walking in the rainy season. There is also a credit union named "*Wijaya Makmur*" which unfortunately hasn't grown. One of the credit union management staff stated that the people of Rowoberanten could benefit from the credit union:

"There was a time when this credit union became very good, when I took care of plenty of things. Because of my creativity, you could buy things by not paying the total amount ("tambal sulam") way. I usually credited it to the trader because I knew him before, and sometimes I got a discount, so if I shopped I did not have to pay all the bill, but I could pay just a half first. So I could pay the salary of the staff for IDR 200,000 per month. But now I became very lazy because the management staff do not support each other. They even argued with each other, so I did not want to be as active like I used to be. I also had the opportunity to be trained as the management staff of a credit union in Semarang for a couple of days."

There is one *Co-Puskesmas* or Community Health Centre (*"Puskesmas Pembantu/Pustu"*) with one village midwife who lives there. The midwife lived in the village to make it easier for people to meet her while expecting or trying to control their health. If people want to go to *pustu* (open 8-11am), they can walk, ride a bicycle or ride a motorcycle. *Pustu* also includes Community Health Security (*Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat/Jamkesmas*) or Local Community Health Security (*Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat Daerah/Jamkesda*) but *Jamkesmas* or *Jamkesda* is only for mild illness.

Many people from Rowoberanten Village usually have chikungunya disease, rheumatism and asthma. There was even a time where everyone in one village had the chikungunya disease. As told by Tr:

"Long time ago, all of the people who lived in a village next to our village got chikungunya disease. We went to visit them because they were still our relatives. But when I went back to our village, I and my husband also got the disease. People believed that the disease was spread and caused by the tobacco lands. But there was no scientific research about the relation between tobacco and chikungunya disease."

Women's Position in Rowoberanten Village

None of the positions at the government level in Rowoberanten Village are filled by women. There was a time when PKK (women's group for family welfare education) and *arisan* (women's informal group around particular activities) were only done by wives of village government officials or community members with good government relations. But things have started to change after the head of village was filled by Pak Mutaqin. During his leadership, there was *Karang Taruna* (youth and young people's group) that was developed and officially launched at the village level. The wife of the village head also acted as head of PKK:

"There were no arisan here, Mbak. PKK was for women with village government officials' background only. But now I want to try as hard as I could so other women want to participate in PKK. It is not easy to invite them to participate in PKK because usually they have only graduated from primary school. Many of them are illiterate."

Many people in the community work as farmers and peasants (those without land). Women usually work as peasants for tobacco, rice and corn crops (also named with "*ulur*": plant the corn seed); cutting tobacco; and "*ngrowei*" (arranging tobacco leaves and tightening them). They are usually paid less than men for the same work. And women are still responsible for



raising children. There are some benefits, as described by At:

"I got IDR 20,000 for cutting the grass. I start to work from 7.00-11.00 am, then continue from 11.00-13.00. I take a rest by going home and eating, praying. Then at 1 pm, I go back to the land and work until 5 pm. Even though it's long hours, I did it all by sitting. With that amount of payment, I am still happy because there are still people who want to employ me. If it is the rice planting time, I work 6.00-9.00 am, and am paid IDR 10,000. And if the land is too far, I leave home at 5.00 or 5.30 am."

Even when women are the breadwinners, the control or power is still in the hands of their husbands, such as decisions made about their children's education, the type or name of the school for the children, the type or name of the bank they should borrow money from, buying things, and selling the harvest. Property was usually owned in their husbands' names. Out of a sample of 10 ten persons surveyed in the community, 3 had houses in the wife's name, 5 had houses in their husband's, and one person did not have a house. One participant did not answer the question. In term of land, three legally owned land under both the woman's and man's name. Motorcycles were all legally owned by men, even when purchases were made together by men and women. Women who did legally own a house and land were widows or received it from their parents before they got married.

Women migrant workers' contributions to the village's development is very significant. This is demonstrated by the small road to the houses, which they paid for themselves, IDR 250,000 per family and for the village light, for which families contributed IDR 200/month. Even though the life of Rowoberanten Village is funded by migrant workers, the government does not give adequate attention to women's welfare. The government's apathy is shown by the absence of village regulations on migrant worker issues and the minimal attention paid to migrant workers who had experienced problems, such as non-payment and abuse during migration. This is due to ideas that good or bad situations during migration and working depends on destiny.

From this situation, it's clear that women are still considered subordinate to men. It is unusual if married women buy property under her own name, even if it's with her own earnings from working abroad. Women typically do not attain a high educational level and mainly work in the domestic sphere. Women's opinions and expressions are sometimes ignored at the family (domestic) and public level. For example, women are not allowed to borrow money without the signature of her husband. Women are paid lower than men and have less access to socializing opportunities. All this impacts women's welfare.

Below shows the division of work based by gender, between men and women.

Matrix on women's decision making in the village

Type of Decision	Woman by herself	Dominated by woman	Decide together	Man by himself	Dominated by man
1. Child education	3		4		
2. Family health	3		4		
3. Child care	6		2		
4. Family planning	3		3		
5. Marriage	4		4		
6. Daily expenses	3	1	3		2
7. Buying property	3		4		2
8. Using the land	2		1		
9. What is to be planted	2		1		
10. What is to be sold					

Matrix on women's reproductive role in the village

Task	Women	Men
1. Cooking	8	4
2. Laundry	8	
3. Wash the dishes	8	2
4. Cleaning the house	9	3
5. Holding the baby	8	1
6. Taking the baby to sleep	7	2
7. Feeding the kids	8	1
8. Taking the water	9	7
9. Taking care at the integrated services centre for baby (<i>"Pos Pelayanan Terpadu/Posyandu"</i>)	8	
10. Taking the kids in to bathe	8	3

Matrix on productive roles of women

Task	Women	Men
1. Planting		
• Cutting	2	5
• Burning	6	3
• Prepare the seeds	1	2
• Selling	3	3
2. Goat farming	1	1
• Making the farm		
• Selling		

Matrix on women's social roles in the community

Task	Women	Men
Women's informal meeting group around a particular activity: collecting and sharing specific amount of money regularly (<i>Arisan</i>)	5	2
Praying group/Islamic religious activity		
Youth of Mosque (<i>Remaja Masjid</i>)		
Youth and young people's group (<i>Karang Taruna</i>)		
Women's group of family welfare education (<i>Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga/PKK</i>)		
Mortality	7	3
Marriage	7	3

Rowoberanten Village's History of Migration

The village has a history of migration since 1990. During that time, the destination countries were limited to Malaysia and the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi). Migrant workers went abroad for the first time with the assistance of field officers/sponsors from PJTKI (*Petugas Lapangan/PL*). The PJTKI paid field officers about IDR 1,500,000 for each person, depending on the PJTKI. During that time, only a few women migrated after being visited by the field officer. The field officer usually visited the houses to recruit migrant workers. Women who migrated then were usually negatively stigmatised.

After Malaysia and the Middle East, many migrant workers then went to Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Korea. The majority of them worked as migrant workers. Only a few worked in Korean factories as these jobs were usually done by men migrant workers.

The situation has changed because women who migrate now are respected and enjoy a high social status, compared to women who did not migrate. This resulted in parents

allowing their children to migrate and to work in foreign countries, by falsifying documents and not telling the truth about their children's ages. This was commonly done.

Currently, it is not only the field officer who visits houses to recruit. Instead, women themselves now come to the agent PJTKI. The expenses of women migrant workers vary from IDR 1,500,000 to 4,000,000 depending on the destination country and the agent. If they want to go to Taiwan, they pay between IDR 1,000,000-2,000,000. If they want to migrate to Hong Kong, they pay IDR 3,000,000-3,500,000. They even got money themselves. Bd took care of her 2nd daughter's migration plans herself because she did not believe the field officer took care of her first daughter's migration:

"I took care of my second daughter's migration to a foreign country. I went to the agent PJTKI in Semarang, together with my daughter, and I took care of everything by myself. So I did not have to pay the field officer during my second daughter's arrangement. My daughter went to Taiwan and she got IDR 4,000,000 IDR; but she got IDR 2,900,000 because IDR 1,100,000 was held by the agent as a fee for arranging the documents. When the field officer took care of me, I only got IDR 1,000,000. Because of this experience, I had an idea to take care of everything by myself."

As the number of migrant workers has increased, so has the number of money changers, particularly after the reformation era around 1999. Money changers were legal and illegal. The legal money changers were the ones who put out announcements and the illegal changers only worked among community or selected people.

To pay expenses for travel to a foreign country, sometimes workers borrowed money for agrarian or farming management costs from the bank. Most of them borrowed from a local bank such as *Dana Tani Bank (Bank Dana Tani)* instead of government banks such as BRI and BNI. Even though the government bank gave higher interest rates, was faster, and allowed debts to be extended without survey - this was only possible if they paid the interest. For example, one community member said (Mbak Budi) that if she borrowed IDR 6,500,000 from *Bank Dana Tani*, then she had to pay IDR 9,000,000 in the next six months. It became clear that people in the community felt they had to do anything to get money to migrate, even with high interest rates. People really needed the money for migration.

Social Ideas in the Village about Labour Migration

The community of Rowoberanten Village saw migrant work as a solution. This was in line with what most of society thinks about migrant workers.

The Rowoberanten Village community is close to a weekly spiritual ritual. The spiritual activity is conducted together by the people four times a week or even more, and is structured in a religious institution. This is one social resource (social capital) that contributes greatly to people's thoughts on various issues, including migrant workers. The meetings are not specifically to discuss migrant workers' problems but for reading the Al Quran (Holy Quran). But these activities influence the way migrant workers think about problems. For example, when people were abused by traffickers, they considered that situation as their destiny to be accepted, instead of thinking of it as a human rights violation due to the state's failure in protecting the rights of migrant workers.

In Rowoberanten, migrant workers are considered a part of daily life and a solution to economic problems. Migrant workers are seen as hard workers working for their families. These ideas are not the same in other areas where migrant workers are considered out of the ordinary or improper for women.

Family is seen as the guiding spirit for migrant workers when they have problems from transit (e.g. in the shelters) to their arrival in the destination country. During the whole process, family is an important remembrance.

In this context, women become a solution for a family's financial problems. Women still fulfill their role as housewives and mothers who nurture and take care of their family. They are respected and appreciated as migrant workers, but there are still normative limitations. From all the community data, most migrant workers worked as domestic workers, except for two people who worked as a chef in a restaurant and as an entertainer in a cafe. Because this woman was considered to be a comfort woman, she was excluded for working against the religious norm.

From the data gathered, the economic system was not the only factor increasing the number of women migrant workers from Rowoberanten. There were also gendered social and religious factors influencing women's migration. From the profiles of women participating in FPAR, many of them did not graduate from primary school. Most of the women who did graduate, graduated only from primary school. Only some of the women graduated from junior high school.

Village Women's Migration Experiences as Migrant Workers During Recruitment

There were many different recruitment experiences. Some women migrant workers were recruited by field officers or brokers. Some went to the company directly. For women's first departure to a foreign country, most of the potential migrant workers were recruited by a field officer or a community member who asked them to pay the sponsor.

Below are some examples of the fees paid by women to access work abroad:

- Salimah paid IDR 1,000,000
- Ngatni paid IDR 300,000
- Atni paid IDR 300,000
- Saroh paid IDR 1,000,000

Some women were recruited without having to pay a fee upfront but their salary was deducted for eight to ten months:

- Supiyah: eight months
- Budi: eight months
- Tari: 10 months
- Nenglis: eight months
- Lely: 15 months

Women starting migrating to foreign countries in 1991. At that time, the number of women migrant workers was low compared to now when women migrant workers are the trend. From 1991-2001, most migrant workers migrated through the brokers that came to the village. Brokers were usually from other villages but some were members of Rowoberanten Village.

Some FPAR participants also migrated through brokers, such as: (1) Salimah; (2) Saroh; (3) Budi; (4) Atni; (5) Nenglis; and (6) Lutfi. Six participants migrating by contacting the company themselves. The first participant to migrate to the destination country used a broker for her first trip but contacted the company directly for her second trip. Two participants migrated with a calling visa so they departed without a company's involvement. Instead they handled everything by themselves - all the requirements, documents (including their visa and passport), and ticketing.

There were differences between migrant workers who used brokers and those who had the opportunity to handle everything they needed for migration by themselves. Migrant workers who went through brokers did not get enough information on important things

such as the situation of the destination country, where they would work, etc. As far as they knew, all their needs were supposed to be handled by the company. Company told recruits about:

1. Data requirements, such as identity card, certificates, family cards, or other identity documents;
2. That they have to work well and obey the employer;
3. That they have to have good health; and
4. They will gain a high salary.

During Transit

During transit or while waiting for a job, potential migrant workers had to stay in a shelter. They had to live together with hundreds of potential migrant workers in the one room. They were not allowed to go outside the shelter. There was inadequate sanitation and limited food.

Women reported the following shelter experiences:

- There were two persons who did not receive training;
- Only ate twice a day, had to boil drinking water herself, buy it herself or with other migrant workers;
- Ate three times a day with the same menu every day;
- Forced to work (cleaning) in the shelter in Batam, and got salary;
- Three bathrooms for 300 persons;
- Eight bathrooms for 500 persons;
- A friend committed suicide in the shelter because she had been there for too long ;
- All basic needs except for food had to be bought and paid for by workers, especially when they were sick and had to go to the doctor/hospital.

In the beginning, migrant workers didn't express any problems about the shelters. But during focus group discussions, participants learned about the rights of migrant workers which are supposed to be fulfilled by the PJTKI. Through discussion of their experiences, they started to find there were several rights that were violated, particularly around health services and adequate sanitation.

During Departure

Prospective migrant workers did not understand the function or the content of the working contract. Most of them never even understood the content of their working contract. PJTKI only told potential migrant workers to sign the working contract.

Passports were only held by migrant workers during departure to show to airport officials. Once they arrived in the destination country, they had to give their passports to the agent. Twelve participants had their passports held by their employers.

Departure routes varied:

- Rowoberanten-Jakarta-Singapore: 1 person
- Rowoberanten-Jakarta-Batam-Singapore: 1 person
- Rowoberanten-Semarang-Jakarta-Malaysia: 2 persons
- Rowoberanten-Jakarta-Japan: 1 person
- Rowoberanten-Semarang-Jakarta -Malaysia: 2 persons
- Rowoberanten-Semarang-Jakarta-Singapore: 2 persons
- Rowoberanten-Semarang-Jakarta-Brunei Darussalam: 1 person
- Cilacap-Yogjakarta-Brunei Darussalam: 1 person (a Cilacap resident who married and moved to Rowoberanten)
- Rowoberanten-Semarang-Jakarta-Saudi Arabia: 2 persons

In the Destination Country

Some women initially said they did not have any significant problems in the destination country. But when further focus groups and in-depth individual interviews were conducted, it was found that many of them had faced problems, from long working hours to heavy workloads.

Women in Saudi Arabia and Malaysia worked from 5am to 11pm. During Ramadan (fasting month), domestic workers had to wake up at 2am to prepare the "sahur" (a type of breakfast during the fasting month, served before starting the fast everyday). They worked for about 18 hours per day. Tari explained:

"I had to work from 5 o'clock in the morning to 11 o'clock in the evening and at 2 o'clock in the morning I had to wake up to work during the fasting month. Employers in Saudi Arabia also have large families and all of them have to be served."

In Malaysia, Fitri thought her employer had a mental disorder, because she was told to clean the furniture and mirrors with water and cleaner's soap, all day, from morning to evening, over and over again. She was not allowed to cook. There was another big problem for Fitri. In the morning, she had to clean the bathroom. But after the bathroom had been cleaned, she was not allowed to use it, especially the toilet. Fitri really faced difficulties in this situation. She could do nothing except use Pampers (diapers for babies).

There was also a woman migrant worker who had been jailed because she demanded her rights to her salary but the employer would not pay her. Then she was accused of stealing and was reported to the police. At the police office, the police officer believed her employer's statement instead of hers, although she swore in the name of God that she did not steal anything from her employer. The police officer finally released her during the Indonesian President's visit to Saudi Arabia. Megawati, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, visited Saudi Arabia in her initial year as President.

There were also participants who worked in Hong Kong and Singapore. They said that the salary for Indonesian migrant workers was always below the salary for Filipino migrant workers. Filipino migrant workers were paid according to standard and policy as it was agreed in their workplan. They were also considered good in communication (language). As for Indonesian migrant workers, they could get their full salary if they already had a minimum of two years working experience. They also said that the government of the Philippines was stricter than other countries in protecting citizens working as migrant workers. Tari explained:

"When I worked in Hong Kong, I got paid HK\$ 2,000 when the standard salary was HK\$ 3,400. Filipino workers could get full payment from the beginning of their work. But if you are Indonesian, you can only get that kind of money after you work for two years. "

Sexual harassment was the most sensitive topic discussed. During focus groups, storytelling and individual interviews, none of the women reported experiencing sexual harassment.

Here are some of the social, cultural, and religious violations experienced by women migrant workers:

Physical and Psychological Abuse

- Suffering employer's jealousy: two persons
- Accused of stealing and reported to the police: one person
- Not being trusted by the agent or police officer when the worker ran away and reported the abuse: two persons
- Being called a pig: one person
- Not allowed to eat more than twice a day: one person
- Being beaten by employer: one person
- Hands blistered from having to clean the house with chemical liquid: one person
- Beaten by police officer: one person

Religious violations

- Not allowed to do shalat, the Islamic praying activity
- Told to eat pork
- Not allowed to use the bathroom and toilet within the employer's house

Violation of health rights

- When sick, had to go to the doctor and pay everything by themselves: two persons
- Not allowed to take a rest: one person

Social isolation

- Not allowed to contact the family: one person
- Not allowed to go outside the employer's house and meet with other migrant workers

Economic abuse

- Unpaid: one person
- Not fully paid: one person
- Underpaid: three persons
- Returned to the country of origin after the salary deduction period: one person

Upon Return

Two of the migrant workers researchers spoke to returned before the end of their work contract due to work overload, physical and psychological abuse, underpayment. FR worked for seven months. Ngt worked for two years and was jailed because of she was accused of stealing. FR said:

"Every day from 6.00 am I had to clean the house and bathroom with chemical acid. Besides that, my employer told me to clean all the tables and cabinets over and over again. Even when I had already cleaned it, my employer checked it and considered them unclean, so I had to clean them again and again, over and over. It happened every day. And I felt my employer was abnormal (had mental disorder). I was not allowed to wash and cook, but my hands were swollen and blistered because I had to deal with water and acid cleaners all day. So after three months of work, I could not stand it anymore and I came to the agent and asked to be moved. But my employer did not trust me. My employer considered that I did not work too much because I did not wash and cook. This was the reason she didn't allow me to quickly move to another employer."

Migrant workers also faced dangers on their return home. When they went through Terminal 3 [now called Terminal 4] in the Soekarno Hatta international airport, they met transportation brokers and airport security officers who forced workers to pay 'security money' and force workers to use their expensive transportation services. All participants said that they had not experienced this situation themselves because they were really careful, but participants reported that their friends had experienced this at the airport.

Upon Arrival in the Village

When women migrant workers arrived at the village, they were happily welcomed by the family. Most participants also spoke of the challenges they faced when they returned to their village. One big challenge concerned how the money they had earned abroad was used. Some participants said that when they returned to their village, the amount of money available was less than expected because some of the money had been sent to the village for family needs while they were working abroad.

This meant that many participants left to work abroad a second time so that they could reach their dream - to have land, a house, and savings for their sons' and daughters' study. One successful woman used her wages as capital for starting a business. During the focus groups, women started to discuss how they build hope together to ensure that after earning money abroad, they would use their earnings to empower the village's economic potential. Most participants agreed that they had to buy the land to fix the situation, because the main resource in the village is agrarian. If they do not have land, then they will remain peasants.

The Linkages between Gender, Migration, Labour and Human Trafficking

The main themes from women's stories, focus groups and individual interviews all link to broader gender, migration, labour and trafficking issues.

Women's role as breadwinners is an important factor in increasing migration from the village as women migrated for domestic work. Domestic workers are still considered part of the informal sector which has less legal protection from the government both inside and outside the country. And although women were breadwinners by migrating for work, they also continued to keep their tasks as housewives responsible for cooking, nurturing, and the whole family's well-being. Women's double burden is part of the gender inequality women experienced in Rowoberanten Village. Women's burden to migrate for economic reasons and gender inequality made women vulnerable to labour exploitation and trafficking.

"Like what AT experienced as one of the women with experience as a migrant workers - her husband married again after having two kids. Not only that, her husband often abandoned her economically, and abused her physically and psychologically. AT's husband often slapped her when he angry, burnt all of AT's clothes, asked for AT's work salary, and also forced AT to sell her land. In this situation, AT migrated to Singapore for domestic work in 1999. AT migrated through a broker, so she had to pay an amount of money, but AT had to stay in the shelter for one week where she received no training. When she began working, her certificate was faked and her salary was deducted for 10 months. As a woman migrant worker, AT was also underpaid. Her salary which supposed to be 1,000 Singaporean dollars but she was only paid 750 Singaporean dollars. When she returned back to her home, AT's money had been spent by her husband to pay off debt. And since he remarried, her husband never provided for her daily needs. AT's third child, En, worked in Malaysia in 2006 at the age of 16 to be a domestic worker. Her age was faked as 20 years old."

"The other story experienced by Bd, a victim of domestic violence (her husband would get drunk, was unemployed, and always beat her) who works in Jakarta for her kids. When she worked in Jakarta, she was promised IDR 3,000,000 per month as a servant in a Japanese restaurant. But when she arrived in Japan, she had to work as a cafe servant and accompany the customers. Her salary was deducted for 12 months. She was yelled at by her employer for being fat. Bd had to do all of the work cleaning the

cafe, such as washing the dishes, cleaning the floor, cleaning the rooms, from 2 pm to 5 pm. At 7 pm, she had to get the customers/guests to drink, until 2 o'clock in the morning. "

After returning to the village, both women had to resume work as housewives - washing, cooking, nurturing, and taking care of the children. From situations like these, we can identify gender problems such as gender-based violence, particularly domestic violence; migration problems including falsifying ages on migration documents; and labour problems such as long working hours, heavy workloads; and the three elements of human trafficking - process, means, and objectives - that Bd experienced in Japan.

Examples of these links are provided in the boxes below. Although each example is listed in one box, many of these cases refer to more than one issue. For example, Sri migrated when she was 16 years old with fake documents and worked as a domestic worker. We can link her story to gender issues such as her work in the domestic sector; and to migration and labour issues as she was a child worker because her travel documents were faked.

Cases demonstrating links between gender, migration, labour and human trafficking

GENDER	MIGRATION
<p>Mba Atni married again. She and her husband married when they returned from overseas. At the time she got married, she was a widow with two children.</p>	<p>Sri migrated as a domestic worker when she was 16 years old; her document falsely listed her age as 21 years old.</p>
<p>Mbak Budi's husband drank alcohol all the time, would not work, and depended on Mbak Budi to support him.</p>	<p>Lutfi migrated at the age of 16; her age was falsely listed as 20 years old. She experienced violence and abuse from her Malaysian employer, so she had to be helped by wheelchair when she returned to Indonesia. Her family became isolated and she has been depressed until now.</p>
<p>Lely was beaten by her husband (domestic violence).</p>	<p>Tari changed her age from 16 to 20 to work as a domestic worker. Eni changed her age from 16 to 20.</p>
<p>Bu Salimah, Mbak Supiyah, Mbak Tari, and Mbak Srie all carried double burdens as breadwinners by working as migrant domestic workers, yet were still fully responsible for domestic work within their own families, such as washing clothes, nurturing, taking care the children, cooking, etc.</p>	<p>Atni was not trained during her stay in the shelter.</p>
<p>None of the community members, including women migrant workers, participated in the society's organization which influenced policy matters between the Village Parliament (<i>Badan Perwakilan Desa/BPD</i>) and the village's government.</p>	<p>Salimah was forced to pay IDR 1,000,000 to her sponsor. Saroh was forced to pay IDR 1,500,000 to her sponsor.</p>
	<p>Ngatni was jailed in Saudi Arabia and was accused of stealing. Ngatni was accused of stealing because she demanded her salary which was never paid by her employer.</p>
	<p>Nenglis was told to work during her transit in the shelter in Batam but was not paid.</p>
	<p>Budi Lestari, while in transit in the shelter in Batam, was told to work without being paid and was given unfit reasons many times for not getting a work placement. She was also asked to pay the field officer IDR 1,000,000 IDR.</p>

TRAFFICKING	LABOUR
<p>Budi Lestari (25) worked in Japan.</p> <p>Recruitment: When she was in Jakarta, Mbak Budi was offered work by someone from PT Movas.</p> <p>Movement: She was promised work as a traditional dancer in Japan with a high salary, together with her friend from Bandung. Finally she agreed and migrated to Japan.</p> <p>Economic and sexual exploitation: In reality, Mbak Budi worked as a servant in a café. She had to accompany men/guests/customers to consume drink. Work hours were long. In the afternoon, she had to work. She had to clean the café, wash the dishes, clean the mirrors and other furniture, and help with logistics. This did not match the work she was originally offered. While working, Mba Budi never received her salary.</p>	<p>Work hours</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fitri: 12 hour workdays, from 6am • Tari: 18 hour workdays, from 5am to 11pm. • Mbak Tari did not get money because she did not take her day of leave. Had two days a week of leave. While working in Hong Kong, there was CCTV in the house so Mbak Tari felt uncomfortable. <p>Restrictions at work</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All participants except for Mbak Sri were not allowed to do their praying activities in the destination country. • In Saudi Arabia, workers were not allowed to go outside the employer's house, except when accompanied by the employer. <p>Salary Indonesian women migrant workers made HK \$2,000, while Filipino women migrant workers made HK \$3,500.</p> <p>Type of work: Tari, Atni, Nenglis, Supiyah, Fitriyah, Salimah, Srie worked as domestic workers.</p>

Policies Impacting Migrant Workers

The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (*Undang-undang Dasar Republik Indonesia 1945*) guarantees the fulfillment of women's rights. Chapter X of the constitution regarding Citizens and Residents includes the right to decent work and a decent life. Chapter X of the Constitution also guarantees Human Rights, including the right to a feeling of safety, protection from threats, and the right to be free from torture or any derogatory treatment demeaning human dignity.

In order to exercise their rights to employment, many women from urban and rural areas migrate to foreign countries to work in the formal or informal sector. Most end up working in the informal sector, as domestic workers.

Protection for Indonesian migrant workers is guaranteed by Law No. 39 (2004) for the Protection and Placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers (*Perlindungan dan Penempatan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia di Luar Negeri/PPTKILN*). The placement and protection of potential TKI and TKI is based on the harmonisation of equal rights, democracy, social justice, gender equality and equity, anti discrimination, and anti-trafficking.

Law No. 39 also regulates the National Migrant Workers Placement and Protection Agency (*Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia di Luar Negeri/BNP2TKI*). According to the law, the duty and function of the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration (*Departemen Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi*) is to regulate, support, implement, and control the placement and protection of Indonesian migrant workers.

BNP2TKI' s function is to implement the policy regarding the placement and protection of Indonesian migrant workers to ensure coordination and integration. Depnakertrans and BNP2TKI have the same authority so there is overlap between these two institutions. The Constitution Court made no firm decisions (*Mahkamah Konstitusi/MK*) to overcome the problems, so power conflicts between the two institutions still continues. At the same time, the protection of migrant workers is still being ignored.

Women migrant workers in Rowoberanten Village were not aware of the existence of Law No. 39. When women were made aware of the law, they remarked that the law's content was good but that implementation did not match reality. When workers migrated, they only knew about migration requirements such as identification cards and other documents. The lack of protection occurs despite the fact that most migrant workers are women who collectively are one of the largest contributors to the Indonesian economy.

Besides the right to decent work and decent life in foreign countries, women also have the right to decent work and decent life within one's own country. However, the state only protects workers in the formal sector. Informal workers are not protected. To guarantee the rights of workers in the formal sector, Indonesia passed Law No. 13 (2003) concerning Manpower. The rights in the Law included the right to a decent salary, the right of leave, and rights to work safety, to name a few examples. In contrast to the Law however, some labourers are paid below the minimum wage (e.g. Lely's case). For the FPAR participants, the right to leaves and holidays was not upheld and work safety was ignored.

According to the law, every person has the right to express their opinion and has the right to freedom of association and freedom of assembly. In reality, workers who are critical of their employers are fired (*di-PHK*, which in Indonesian means *Pemutusan Hubungan Kerja* or getting fired or laid off, which is considered a dishonor and disgrace) and do not have the right to freedom of association and freedom of assembly. The community of women migrant workers in Rowoberanten Village did not know the existence of this Law either.

The Indonesian government, through the Department of Manpower and Transmigration (*Departemen Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi*), issued a Moratorium to temporarily stop the placement of Indonesian migrant workers while the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between Indonesia and Malaysia is changed. The reason given was to protect migrant workers who work in Malaysia because there have been so many Indonesian migrant workers abused and exploited in Malaysia. One of the clauses that was criticised in the MOU was about not allowing the employer to hold onto the passports of Indonesian migrant workers.

The Government of Indonesia does not consider the economic conditions of the people living in poverty. Before the policy stopping the placement of migrant workers was issued, there was no effort from the government to ensure the welfare of people inside the country, particularly potential migrant workers. Besides Malaysia, the state has also issued moratoria to several countries in the Middle East. By doing this, Indonesia is causing "collateral damage" to migrant workers and their families. It may seem like the state is protecting migrant workers. But actually, the state is violating people's right to migrate and the right to have decent work and a decent life.

The community of women migrant workers in Rowoberanten Village were not aware of the Moratorium. According to them, the Moratorium is not good for people because the government has not guaranteed the welfare of the people if people are restricted from migrating for economic survival. Ibu Leli remarked:

"I was in the PT for a couple of months. But because there was this policy, I could not migrate. The need of the family was already very urgent. I was very ashamed because I failed to migrate."

Women's Thoughts on Justice

Women's thoughts on justice were gathered from the focus group discussions and in-depth individual interviews.



Based on the systemic nature of rights violations' against migrant workers, it's not surprisingly that women were more concerned with systemic justice rather than personal justice. One focus group was organised to talk about personal justice, particularly in relation to migration realities from the recruitment process to return and reintegration in the village. Women explained that there were so many violations on their human rights, that this is about systemic and economic injustice.

Women had problems during recruitment, such as when potential migrant workers were accompanied by a sponsor and asked to pay money in order to access work. Women discussed whether it was necessary to pay a sponsor to migrate and work. Women questioned why couldn't they go directly to the PJTKI without a sponsor? And whether this was fair or not? Other problems raised included salary deductions (usually 8-12 months' salary), the conditions in shelters, and the costs for shelter accommodation and food. When women arrived in the destination country, there were tragic stories from migrant workers because of bad treatment from employers, such as heavy workloads and non-payment.

In beginning discussions, women with experience as migrant workers felt that they have to pay or they would get bad and improper treatment from their employer. Women felt they had to accept these conditions because they needed to work and PJTKI was the one paying all the expenses in the beginning. That is why they felt they had to always obey the PJTKI.

But then participants tried to calculate how much was taken by the PJTKI. Participants found that the money spent by the PJTKI is not as much as the amount workers paid PJTKI, meaning that PJTKI profited greatly from migrant workers. For example, 70% of Yuli's salary was deducted for 12 months (her salary was IDR 5,000,000 /month). This means that IDR 3,500,000 was deducted for 12 months or IDR 42,000,000 in total. In comparison, if we calculate the expenses paid by the PJTKI - such as passport fees, tickets, and food during workers' transit in the shelter - this sum is not even 20% of the total salary deducted.

The FPAR team and participants formulated how this situation could be made fair and improved on both sides. Below are workers' thoughts about their ideal situation regarding recruitment, transit, and arrival in the destination country:

1. It would be better if prospective migrant workers did not have to go through a sponsor because the sponsor only wants to get money and they do not fulfill their responsibilities when placing potential migrant workers with PJTKI. Women have to protect themselves from sponsors because they are not fair.
2. PJTKI/Indonesian migrant workers suppliers' agency should not take advantage of prospective migrant workers by taking almost ten times the actual expenses incurred from migrant workers. PJTKI should charge fees that reflect actual expenses.
3. Women should report the PJTKI who violate migrant workers' rights.

Profile of Women Participants

Thirteen women participated in this FPAR. During the process, some participants migrated. Other women did not participate in FPAR activities because they were dealing with psychological problems and the researchers were not capable approaching them further because the family wanted to recover their children without outside intervention.

Four FPAR participants were 20-29 years old and eight participants were 30-44 years old. Most of them were primary school graduates. One person had not graduated from primary school. Two participants graduated from high school. One participant did not graduate from college. All of them are married, except for one. All participants had experienced migrating to a foreign country more than once, except for two participants.

Participants' labour migration

Name	# of times migrated	Destination Country
Atni	1 time	Singapore
Budi	1 time	Japan
Supiyah	2 times	Saudi Arabia, Singapore
Salimah	1 time	Saudi Arabia
Lely	2 times	Brunei Darussalam, Taiwan
Ngatni	2 times	Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi
Fitri	3 times	Malaysia two times, Singapore
Lutfi	1 time	Malaysia
Tari	2 times	Saudi Arabia, Hong Kong
Srie	2 times	Singapore
Esti	2 times	Singapore, Hong Kong

In September 2009, one participant departed for Abu Dhabi. Another participant planned to go to Singapore in December 2009. During the FPAR process, women migrant workers and researchers reminded these participants to choose a legal company with a good record. They also gave information on the names of organisations that women could contact if there were any problems during migration to the destination country. By coincidence, Dewi Nova from GAATW visited Rowoberanten Village when two daughters of FPAR participants were planning to migrate to Hong Kong after staying a couple of weeks in the shelter. Dewi Nova was able to share the phone numbers of ATKI members in Hong Kong (ATKI is an organisation led by Indonesian domestic workers) if they had any problems during migration.

CHAPTER III: ACTION PLANS AND RECOMENDATIONS

The newly formed Rowoberanten Women Migrant Workers Group (Kelompok Perempuan Mantan Buruh Migrant Rowoberanten) formulated an action plan and recommendations for government.

Action Plans

1. To continue to learn together through ongoing FPAR on the theme of migrant workers' health. During the FPAR data gathering phase, it was found that many problems related to migrant workers' health - during migration, before departure, and upon return and reintegration in the village.
2. To establish a women's organisation for migrant workers (with a minimum of 20 women migrant workers) through social activities and asking other women migrant workers to join.
3. To establish a credit union for women.
4. To provide input to official at the village, sub-district, and district levels by participating in Development Plan Meetings (*Musyawah Rencana Pembangunan/Musrenbang*).
5. To build solidarity and share experiences among women migrant workers. One of migrant worker members, Mrs. Salimah, will act as a migrant information centre.

Women Migrant Workers Group Recommendations for the Government:

1. The district and provincial government should develop regulations that protect women migrant workers to supplement existing regulations on the placement of migrant workers.
2. The government should sanction Indonesian migrant workers supplier agencies (*Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia/PJTKI*) that violate current regulations.
3. The government should increase and implement access to women empowerment programs at the village level for rural women.
4. The government should involve women in decision-making processes, such as through Development Plan Meetings (*Musyawah Rencana Pembangunan /Musrenbang*).



APPENDIX A: ABOUT LRC-KJHAM

LEGAL RESOURCES CENTER or UNTUK KEADILAN JENDER DAN HAK ASASI MANUSIA (LRC-KJHAM) works in Central Java to promote understanding and campaign for values of gender equity and human rights.

LRC-KJHAM activities include:

1. Legal aid for victims of gender-based violence;
2. Counselling for victims of gender-based violence;
3. Monitoring and campaigning in cases of gender-based violence; and
4. Community organising and critical education for grassroots communities: such as female migrant workers and sex workers.

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